

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 142905
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY USUN:JGRAHAM:HM
APPROVED BY SECRETARY
USUN:A YOUNG(DRAFT)
AF:R MOOSE
S/S:SGOLDSMITH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS, CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, TZ, CG, XJ

SUBJ: SECRETARY VANCE'S MEETING WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER MKAPA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MEMCON ON THE MEETING WHICH
SECRETARY VANCE AND UK FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN HAD WITH
TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA IN NEW YORK JUNE 2.

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AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND MCHENRY, TANZANIAN UN PERMREP SALIM,
TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR TO US BOMANI AND USUN NOTETAKER ALSO
ATT:NDED MEETING.

2. BEGIN TEXT. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OPENED AN HOUR AND A
HALF DISCUSSION ON ZAIRE/ANGOLA BY REPORTING ON HIS JUNE 1
CONVERSATION WITH ANGOLAN PRIME MINISTER NASCIMENTO (USUN
2250). NASCIMENTO HAD SAID THAT THERE WERE 200,000
REFUGEES IN ANGOLA ALONG THE BORDER WITH ZAIRE, AND THAT

ANGOLA COULD NOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM. ANGOLA HAD TRIED TO MOVE THEM TOWARD THE INTERIOR FROM THE - BORDER BUT COULD NOT. YOUNG REPORTED THAT NASCIMENTO HAD EVIDENCED A SENSE OF HELPLESSNESS WITH REGARD TO MILITARY THREATS FROM ZAIRE AND SOUTH AFRICA. NASCIMENTO HAD EMPHASIZED THAT ANGOLA WANTED TO END THE FIGHTING AND WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. NASCIMENTO HAD ALSO COMMENTED THAT, "THE ONLY WAY WE CAN

STOP THE SOUTH AFRICANS IS TO REQUEST ASSISTANCE WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE OUR NON-ALIGNMENT. WHY CAN'T WE GET THE WEST TO UNDERSTAND THAT ANGOLA WANTS TO STAY NON-ALIGNED?"

SECRETARY OWEN SAID THAT ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO HAD TAKEN THE SAME LINE WITH HIM A YEAR AND A HALF AGO DURING THE FIRST SHABA CRISIS. OWEN COMMENTED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IN ANGOLA IS SO WEAK THAT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SIMPLY DOES NOT KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. YOUNG SAID THAT NASCIMENTO HAD ALSO TOLD HIM THAT THE CURRENT CRISIS IS REALLY MOBUTU'S PROBLEM AND THAT CONDITIONS IN ZAIRE WERE SUCH THAT EVERY TIME MOBUTU WAS RESCUED, IT COULD ONLY BE FOR THE SHORT TERM. YOUNG ADDED THAT NASCIMENTO'S LACK OF LOVE FOR MOBUTU HAD BEEN QUITE CLEAR. MKAPA AGREED WITH NASCIMENTO'S ASSESSMENT THAT CONDITIONS

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UNDER MOBUTU WERE SO BAD THAT NO AID COULD BE TRULY EFFECTIVE.

SECRETARY VANCE THEN ANNOUNCED THAT THE US HAD BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE AIRCRAFT TO TRANSPORT 250 FRENCH TROOPS FROM SHABA TO CORSICA AND TO TRANSPORT 250 MOROCCAN TROOPS FROM MOROCCO TO SHABA, MAKING A TOTAL OF 350 MOROCCAN TROOPS IN SHABA. THE US PLANNED TO AGREE TO THIS REQUEST AND IMPLEMENT IT JUNE 3.

MKAPA THEN ASKED ABOUT THE JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING AMONG WESTERN COUNTRIES ON ZAIRE. VANCE REPLIED THAT THE MEETING WOULD HAVE TWO PURPOSES: 1) TO PREPARE FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING THE FOLLOWING WEEK ON THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ZAIRE; AND 2) TO DISCUSS RELATED SECURITY MATTERS. MKAPA THEN SAID FRANKLY THAT "A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WOULD LOOK VERY ASKANCE" IF THE PARIS MEETING WAS BEING CALLED TO ESTABLISH A MILITARY INTERVENTION FORCE. SUCH A MEETING WOULD RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA. THERE WAS GREAT CONCERN IN THE OAU ON THIS POINT. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE, MKAPA ALSO SAID, TO JUDGE AN AID EFFORT WITHOUT JUDGING THE REGIME BEING AIDED. ZAIRE'S POSTURE WAS "QUESTIONABLE" AMONG AFRICANS. AS A SPECIFIC SORE POINT, MKAPA SAID THAT MOBUTU HAD FAILED TO REASSURE FELLOW AFRICANS ON THE PURPOSE OF THE

WEST GERMAN OTRAG ROCKET SITE IN ZAIRE DESPITE THEIR
REPEATED REQUESTS TO HIM TO DO SO.

YOUNG SAID HE SAW THE MAJOR QUESTION AS: HOW DO WE HELP
ZAIRE STAY TOGETHER, FUNCTION AND FEED ITS PEOPLE? NO
ONE SEEMED TO BE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT HELPING MOBUTU, YOUNG
CONTINUED, BUT ALL OF US ARE IN AN AWKWARD POSITION IF
WE ALLOW CHAOS TO REIGN IN ZAIRE WITHOUT TRYING

ALTERNATIVES. IT WAS PLAIN, YOUNG CONTINUED, THAT SOME
OUTSIDERS AT LEAST HELPED PLAN THE SHABA RAID. IF NOT

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THE CUBANS THEN PERHAPS THE EAST GERMANS. IN ANY CASE,
SOME OUTSIDE POWER WAS INVOLVED IN THE DESTABLIZATION OF
ZAIRE. "EVERYTHING WAS BEGINNING TO COME TOGETHER IN
ZAIRE, ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA," HE SAID. "NOW EVERYTHING HAS
BEEN SET BACK."

MKAPA SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE KEY QUESTION WAS: "IS
ANGOLA PREPARED TO LIVE WITH ANY REGIME IN ZAIRE AND IS
ZAIRE PREPARED TO LIVE WITH ANY REGIME IN ANGOLA?"
MOBUTU, MKAPA SAID, SAYS HE IS NOT PREPARED TO LIVE WITH
A COMMUNIST REGIME IN ANGOLA. YET, IN OPPOSING THE REGIME
IN ANGOLA, HE PROLONGS THE CRISIS. YOUNG SAID THAT HE
THOUGHT MOBUTU'S ANTI-COMMUNISM WAS IN PART A TACTIC TO
GET MORE MONETARY SUPPORT.

AMBASSADOR SALIM SAID THAT ZAIRE'S SUPPORT FOR THE FNLA
WAS COMMON KNOWLEDGE. HOW COULD THE ANGOLANS BE EXPECTED
TO DO ANYTHING ELSE BUT OPPOSE MOBUTU UNDER SUCH CIRCUM-
STANCES? BESIDES, SALIM SAID, NOT ALL THE INSURGENCIES
THREATENING ZAIRE COME FROM ANGOLA. REMOVING ANGOLAN
OPPOSITION TO MOBUTU WOULD NOT NECESSARILY SOLVE MOBUTU'S
PROBLEMS.

FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN THEN SET OUT WHAT HE SAW AS THE
OBJECTIVES OF THE JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING. HE SAW THE MEETING
AS NOT PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH SECURITY BUT AS A PRE-
LIMINARY TO THE BRUSSELS MEETING ON ECONOMIC AID. NONE-
THELESS, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS WERE INTERLOCKED.
THE PRIMARY ISSUE, OWEN SAID EMPHATICALLY, WAS THE ZAIRIAN
ECONOMY. THE UNITED KINGDOM WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT
ZAIRE AS A COUNTRY AND AS A STATE AND TO SUPPORT THE
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ZAIRE. THE UK WOULD OFFER
ECONOMIC SUPPORT ONLY IN EXCHANGE FOR A CONCRETE COMMIT-

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MENT BY MOBUTU TO SERIOUSLY TACKLE HIS COUNTRY'S SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG PROSPECTIVE DONORS, OWEN SAID, THAT SUPPORT FOR MOBUTU WOULD BE GIVEN IN AN AFRICAN, NOT AN EAST/WEST, CONTEXT. BUT MOBUTU MUST PUT HIS HOUSE IN ORDER.

THE PARIS MEETING ALSO WOULD ASK WHAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD DO TO ASSIST. THE UK WOULD NOT OPPOSE WESTERN EFFORTS TO ASSIST WILLING AFRICANS TO ASSIST ZAIRE. BUT ANY RESPONSE MUST BE CONTINGENT UPON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT IN ZAIRE.

SUMMING UP, OWEN SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN TOO MUCH TALK ON ZAIRE'S SECURITY PROBLEMS AND NOT ENOUGH TALK ON ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE CART WAS PRECEDING THE HORSE. NEVERTHELESS, THE CART AND THE HORSE WERE LINKED. THE UK WOULD BE VERY WARY OF MAKING ANY COMMITMENT WHATSOEVER TO MOBUTU WITHOUT RETURN CONCESSIONS FROM HIM; ESPECIALLY FOR POLITICAL REFORMS. OWEN ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY ALSO TO TALK TO THE ANGOLANS "IN ORDER TO STOP ANOTHER KOLWEZI," WHILE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS IN ZAIRE ARE UNDERTAKEN. SECRETARY VANCE ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH OWEN'S STATEMENT.

MKAPA REPEATED HIS CONCERN THAT THE PARIS MEETING WOULD EMPHASIZE SECURITY OVER ECONOMIC MATTERS. MOREOVER, HE SAID, WESTERN COUNTRIES SEEMED TO BE QUESTIONING THE SECURITY OF THE WHOLE CONTINENT (IN AN EAST/WEST CONTEXT) AND NOT JUST THE SECURITY OF ZAIRE. THE FRENCH, HE CONTINUED, HAVE BEEN "EXTREMELY BLATANT IN THEIR INTERVENTION AND YOU (UK AND US) ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE FRENCH 'GENDARMES' IN AFRICAN EYES."

VANCE REITERATED THAT IT WAS NOT MOBUTU, BUT ZAIRE, THAT THE US WANTED TO HELP. IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STABILIZATION OF ZAIRE, THE US HAD TO DEAL WITH ZAIRE'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS. MKAPA ANSWERED THAT THE NATURE OF ZAIRE AND OF MOBUTU DOOMED ANY SUCH EFFORT TO FAILURE.

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TION OF ZAIRE, THE US HAD TO DEAL WITH ZAIRE'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS. MKAPA ANSWERED THAT THE NATURE OF ZAIRE AND OF MOBUTU DOOMED ANY SUCH EFFORT TO FAILURE.

YOUNG SAID THAT THE SHABA CRISIS AND CASSINGA RAID HAD ALMOST DISRUPTED OVER A YEAR OF COOPERATIVE WORK BETWEEN THE WEST AND AFRICA AND THAT THE US WAS DETERMINED NOT TO LET THAT DISRUPTION HAPPEN. HE MENTIONED THAT ZAMBIA WAS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT EVENTS IN ZAIRE BECAUSE OF THE SPILLOVER OF EFFECTS (E.G. REFUGEES) INTO ITS TERRITORY. OWEN AGREED AND SAID THAT A SERIOUS EFFORT TO STABILIZE ZAIRE ALSO WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ZAMBIA. HE REITERATED THAT THE PARIS MEETING WAS NOT

ABOUT MILITARY INTERVENTION. IT WAS ABOUT THE STABILIZATION OF ZAIRE.

SALIM SAID THAT THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN THE WEST AND AFRICA WAS NOW STRAINED. AFRICANS WERE MADE EDGY BY THE PARIS MEETING. THEY DID NOT LIKE WESTERN AID TO ZAIRE SO LONG AS EVERYONE KNEW ZAIRE WAS HELPING TO SUBVERT ANGOLA. THEY WERE WORRIED BY REPORTS THAT THE US MIGHT RESUME AID TO UNITA. SECRETARY VANCE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED SUCH REPORTS AS FALSE. SALIM SAID HE PERSONALLY UNDERSTOOD BUT NONETHELESS THE REPORTS WERE GIVEN CURRENCY IN AFRICA.

HE ADDED THAT, IF THE ANGOLANS GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US WAS IN FACT RECONSIDERING ITS POSITION TOWARD UNITA, THEN IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET ANGOLAN SUPPORT FOR A NAMIBIAN SOLUTION. VANCE SAID THAT YOUNG HAD ALREADY GIVEN STRONG REASSURANCES TO NASCIMENTO ON THE UNITA ISSUE.

OWEN, REGARDING THE PARIS TALKS, SAID THAT THE UK'S REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO TAKE AFRICAN CONCERNS

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(SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED BY MKAPA) VERY MUCH INTO ACCOUNT. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE IN ZAIRE AND DONE QUICKLY. THE MINES IN SHABA WERE FILLING WITH WATER; THE KOLWEZI "MASSACRE" HAD CREATED A SERIOUS CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE. IF THE EUROPEANS REFUSED TO RETURN THE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE DISASTROUS IN ZAIRE AND ALSO IN ZAMBIA. IN PARIS THE WESTERN NATIONS WOULD COORDINATE AMONG THEMSELVES BEFORE THEIR MEETING WITH MOBUTU ON THE 14TH. IN KEEPING WITH ITS VIEW OF THE EMPHASIS TO BE MAINTAINED AT PARIS, THE UK WOULD BE SENDING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OFFICIALS--NOT MILITARY. VANCE REPLIED THAT THE US WOULD BE DOING THE SAME.

MKAPA SAID THAT THE KOLWEZI "TRAGEDY" HAD CAUSED A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. THE EMPHASIS ON EAST/WEST CONFRONTATIONS AND ON THE SUGGESTION OF RENEWED US AID TO UNITA HAD ERODED AFRICAN CONFIDENCE IN THE WEST. THE PARIS MEETING WOULD ERODE IT EVEN FURTHER. YOUNG REPLIED THAT MANY AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES HAD BEEN PRESSING THE US TO SEE REGIONAL CRISES IN AFRICA IN AN EAST/WEST LIGHT AND TO RESPOND TO THEM WITH MILITARY OPTIONS. THE US HAD RESISTED THESE PRESSURES ALTHOUGH IT WAS WELL AWARE OF THE EAST/WEST ELEMENT IN AFRICAN CONFLICTS. THE US HAD DONE ALL THAT IT COULD TO MOVE AFRICAN ISSUES FROM ARMED STRUGGLE TO DEVELOPMENT. THE EAST/WEST EMPHASIS WAS MUCH BIGGER IN THE PRESS THAN IT WAS IN REALITY. IT WAS URGENT, YOUNG SAID, THAT THOSE WESTERN AND AFRICAN STATES THAT HAD BEEN WORKING TOGETHER SO WELL ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS OVER THE LAST YEAR KEEP AT

IT. OWEN ADDED THAT "WE NEED SOME SUCCESSES. WE'VE GOT
TO SHOW THAT A MIDDLE COURSE CAN WORK." HE SAID HE HOPED
THAT THE PARIS TALKS WOULD RESULT IN MORE THAN LAST YEAR'S
"INEFFECTIVE PATCH-UP JOB."

ON RHODESIA, OWEN BRIEFLY SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT
WAS STILL ON COURSE AND THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR PRELIMINARY

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ROUND TABLE TALKS WERE "LOOKING GOOD". END TEXT. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE142905
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: USUN:JGRAHAM:HM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780236-0813
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeyvj.tel
Line Count: 287
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 032d4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2176665
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY VANCE'S MEETING WITH TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA
TAGS: PORG, PEPR, TZ, CG, XJ, (MKAPA, BENJAMIN), (VANCE, CYRUS R), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: DAR ES SALAAM INFO BONN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/032d4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014